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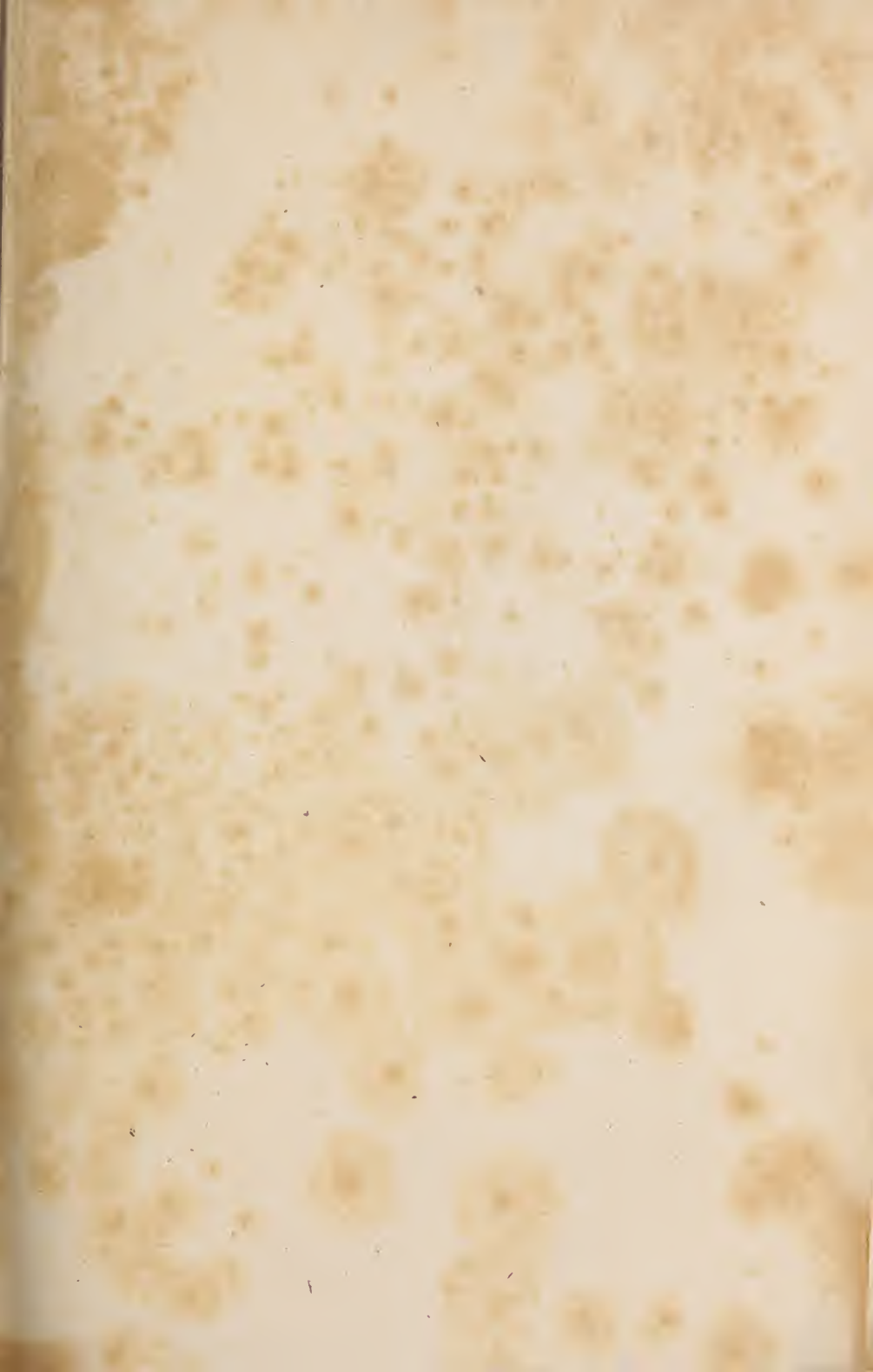
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VOL. XX.]

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY, 1844.

[NO. 2.

TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

IN the opening of this Report, the Executive Committee, acknowledge with reverence and submission, the afflicting visitation of Providence, by which the venerable Dr. Proudfit, a Vice President of the Society, and for several years the devoted and able secretary of the New York Colonization Society, has been removed from his labors to his reward. He died, after a short illness, on the 17th of April, cherishing even in his last moments, the holy sentiments that had so long animated him as a Christian minister and philanthropist, and an unwavering confidence in the character and success of this institution. His eminent faith, devotion, and charity were evident to all who knew him, and the people of Liberia, and thousands in whose bosoms he excited sympathy in their behalf, and from whose benevolence he drew generous contributions for their benefit, will cherish the remembrance of his distinguished exertions and virtues. His voice of persuasion and encouragement was heard in this hall, at the last anniversary of the Society, and though dead he still speaks. By his works and his example he will continue to live, and by an influence to which time shall add only increasing extent and power.

With painful regret, the Committee also record the decease of the Hon. Wm. Halsey, of New Jersey, a gentleman, who during several of the closing years of his life, engaged with zeal, energy and perseverance in efforts to make known the views, and increase the funds of the Society. He visited repeatedly many parts of New Jersey, excited the public mind to confidence and activity in the enterprize, diffused information,

replied to objections, and induced many who had been indifferent, to feel and manifest an interest in its success. Among the last acts of his useful and honored life was the publication of a pamphlet, exhibiting a brief account of the origin and results, as now evident, of African Colonization, and of his own endeavors in co-operation with the State Society of New Jersey, for the advancement of the cause. This institution, the State in which he lived, and Africa so deeply indebted to his labors, will remember him with affection, and long deplore his loss.

On the ninth of May last, seventy one of the slaves left by Mrs. Margaret Alison Reed, of Mississippi, to Dr. Stephen Duncan and the Rev. Zebulon Butler, embarked at New Orleans, in the bark "Renown," chartered by the American Colonization Society, for Liberias. Six others, free persons of color from Mississippi, accompanied them, which (one child a few months old having died on the passage to Norfolk,) with three of the same class from Charleston, made the whole company that sailed from this last port, seventy nine. In this vessel, lumber and trade goods for the benefit of recaptured Africans to the amount of \$1,500 were shipped by order of the Government, which also sent out as freight to the amount of 1840½ barrels of provisions, to be landed at Port Praya, in the Cape De Verd Islands, for the U. S. squadron. This vessel was, after having landed a part of her cargo, unfortunately wrecked at the Cape De Verds with much loss, though all the passengers were saved, and through the kind and energetic efforts of our consul, F. Gardner, Esq., transferred to the barque Jane, of Massachusetts, promptly chartered by him to convey them to the colony. Though the loss of stores and provisions may have caused some inconvenience to these emigrants, all claim on account of the Renown ceasing with the nonfulfilment of the terms of the charter party, this unfortunate event proved of no pecuniary disadvantage to the Society. Intelligence of the arrival of this company at the colony, though for some time expected, has not yet arrived.

Early in November, the barque "Latrobe," sailed from Baltimore, with between seventy and eighty emigrants, nearly all manumitted slaves, and under the patronage of the Maryland Colonization Society, destined to the colony at Cape Palmas. A worthy colored family, Mr. Herrings, and an intelligent colored mechanic, Mr. Hines, from Virginia, embarked in this vessel for Monrovia, under the direction and at the expense of the Parent Society. The number emigrating to Cape Palmas, thirty-one were manumitted by a single philanthropic individual, Mr. Goodwin, who was present, with a numerous assembly of the friends of the cause, to participate in the impressive religious services at their departure.

By a recent legal decision, twelve slaves in Flemingsburg, Ky., are to

receive their freedom and are now ready to emigrate, and a final decree in favor of the liberty of twenty-one at Richmond, Va., is expected the present month, while three in Nansemond county are now ready to sail, and a number from Gloucester county and other places will soon, it is expected, be placed at the disposal of the Society.

The message of Governor Roberts to the colonial legislature in the early part of the year, and his subsequent despatches, afford gratifying evidence of increasing attention to commerce, agriculture, education, and various public improvements. By the colonial law, a common school is to be established in every township of the colony, under the direction of a school committee, to which all persons are compelled by law to send their children, and, while all monies arising from licenses and unappropriated military and court fines are set apart as a fund to support education, and the inhabitants of the several towns and villages are authorized to impose taxes to supply any deficiency. To this subject, the Governor invokes the consideration of the legislature in appropriate and impressive terms. "The condition of our race," he observes, "in other parts of the world, and especially of the inhabitants of this heathen country, should be motives to rouse us to greater diligence, that we may show to the world that the African race is as susceptible of mental improvement as any other. At present there are schools established in several of our towns and villages; these, however, are under the patronage and control of various religious institutions in America, and may be discontinued at any moment. It therefore becomes us to assist ourselves in this great work of improvement, that we may be prepared for any emergency. We can do something and should do something. Let us put our shoulders to the wheel, and when we have done all we can do, I pledge myself there will be no lack of aid. The sympathies of the benevolent every where are enlisted in our favor, especially with regard to this subject; and when it is known abroad, that we appreciate learning, and are doing all in our power to obtain it and cannot succeed, then, and not till then, shall we have the efficient aid of our friends abroad, and be able to establish permanent schools for the education of our youth." There is evidently a want of competent teachers, and of means for their support, and more effectual measures are suggested to the legislature by the Governor to meet the necessity of a more general and thorough system of instruction.

Though the commerce of the colony has suffered from occasional disasters, and particularly from the competition and interference of foreigners, yet it is steadily on the increase. It is stated in the message of the Governor just quoted, that "during the past year three new vessels have been launched at Monrovia, one at Bassa Cove, two, which were foreign

built purchased by colonists," and that three others were about to be launched from the stocks. It may be expected that confidence will arise and increase between American traders and the merchants of the colonies of great mutual advantages, and that these settlements will at no distant day attract to themselves a very valuable commerce from various points of the coast, and the powerful tribes of interior Africa. It is to be regretted, that while Liberia has already done much to enlighten the minds of the native Africans, to excite their industry, and direct their attention to the vast resources of their country, as well as to protect the lives and advance the interests of Americans engaged in lawful traffic upon that coast, it has looked in vain for that encouragement and support, which it so well merits from the Congress of the United States. The committee trust that such instructions have been or will be given to our African squadron, as shall enable it to render that protection and aid to the authorities of Liberia, as are consistent with the specific objects of its movements, and the constitution and true policy of the country.

The agricultural interests of the colony, have neither been prosecuted with sufficient vigor, nor wholly neglected. Of necessity the farmers of Liberia labor under great difficulties and embarrassments, and in the cultivation of the most valuable productions of the tropics, must be expected to make but slow progress. Trade, as the more easy and rapid means of support, naturally and principally occupied the attention and efforts of the early settlers, to the neglect of agriculture, the more sure and certain source of comfort and prosperity. "The soil," remarks the Governor, in his last message, "is good and capable of producing abundant harvests; this will be admitted by all, and in every instance where individuals have perseveringly given the business a fair trial, it has not failed to yield them a handsome reward." Again he observes, "though the crops among the natives last year, in a great degree failed, the colonists, especially in the upper settlements, were generally free from want, and in many instances were able to supply the neighboring natives. The past season has been one of rejoicing among the farmers. Rice crops, especially, have been abundant, and I rejoice to find that the people throughout the commonwealth are becoming awake to their true interests, and convinced that the future prosperity and independence of the colony, depend upon the agricultural resources of the country. Several gentlemen both in this and Bassa county, are turning their attention to this subject, and are establishing coffee and sugar estates, though at present on a small scale. The experiment has proved successful, and established beyond a doubt, the fact, that farmers in Liberia, if industrious, frugal and persevering, may become not only independent, but rich."

A number of valuable public improvements have been made in the colony, and in his message early in the year, the Governor states, that the revenue of 1842, arising from duties on imports, tonnage and other sources, amounted to \$5,403 53, and the expenditures on public works to \$3,111 12, leaving a balance in the treasury of \$2,242 41.

The constitution and laws of the commonwealth of Liberia, including an abstract of legal principles and rules, with an appendix of forms for legal proceedings, published by order of the Legislative Council, has been transmitted by the Governor to the Society, and leaves it impossible to doubt that intelligent justice and humanity pervade the public mind of the colony, and that in their enactments, a due regard will be had to education, to the necessities of the poor, and to the rights and interests of the native African people. The abstract of legal principles and rules, appears to have been compiled with care, by the former chairman of the committee (Judge Wilkeson) and transmitted to the colony, and to them, by an act of the legislature in 1841, was given the force of law.

On the whole, the committee are of opinion, that during no one year, since the origin of the Society, has the colony been as healthy, quiet, and improving as the last, and that its friends have occasion for special gratitude to Almighty God for his favoring providence towards it, for the good order and harmony of its inhabitants, for their increasing regard to the public welfare and the true resources of permanent individual prosperity, for the spirit which has animated the colonial legislature in the enactment of good laws, and for the wise administration of the same, and finally for the abundant evidence they possess, that the public affairs of Liberia are settled on firm and peaceful foundations.

Peace has prevailed during the year, between the colony and the native tribes, and some negotiations have been concluded, mutually beneficial and promising an extensive influence for the abolition of the slave trade, and the advance of civilization. In the month of February, Governor Roberts visited the Golah country, some eighty to one hundred miles in the interior, and of this region he remarks: "I have traveled considerably in the United States, but have never seen any where a more beautiful country than the one we passed through; well timbered and watered, and the soil, I venture to assert, equal to any in the world."

A treaty of amity and alliance was formed between the Colonial Government, and the principal king and other kings and head men of the Golahs, by which it was stipulated, that all matters of difference which might arise between the Liberians and Golahs, or between the head men of the Golahs, or between this tribe and any other, should be referred to the Governor for adjustment, that the natives of the interior should not be obstructed in their intercourse or trade with the colony, that the slave

trade should be banished from the country, and the superstitious trial by sassy-wood, or other poisonous matters should be forever abandoned.

With Ballasada one of these chiefs, a treaty was concluded in 1840, and in the early part of last year, Governor Roberts was requested to interpose between him and a neighboring chief, Gogomina, who had taken and, as was supposed, murdered six of the people of Ballasada. On the requisition of the Governor the people (who were yet alive) were restored, and war prevented. Ballasada has expressed his desire of removing with his tribe within the limits of the colony, and a tract of land has been assigned to him.

It has been observed, that this treaty may open commercial intercourse with the people around the sources of the Niger, and taken in connection with the fact, that treaties of the same general character have from time to time, been made with some thirty other kings, proves that, "however the colony may fall short of being what it should be, it has established among its neighbors, who have watched it for twenty years, such a reputation for superior intelligence, equity and good government, that they think their condition improved by placing themselves thus under its control."

Anxious to adopt every measure, which might conduce to diffuse information and elicit aid from the churches of the country, in the month of April a circular letter was prepared, and distributed to the number of about eight thousand, among the ministers of nearly every religious denomination in the land. This letter was copied in several of the religious newspapers, and there is reason to think was read by a large portion of the people of the United States.

Public confidence in the cause has, the Committee are convinced, been revived and strengthened during the year in many parts of the Union. In the spring, the Massachusetts Colonization Society resolved, that vigorous efforts were demanded by the circumstances of the Society and colony, and in a public address recommended it to the regards of the churches and congregations of every name. The State Colonization Society of Connecticut, was re-organized at Hartford, in the month of May, and that of Delaware, about the same time. The Colonization Society of Vermont, still continues its aid to the cause, and in New Hampshire and Maine, are some of its most warm and devoted friends. The New York and Pennsylvania Societies, have continued to cherish zeal in the enterprise, though from various causes (in the case of the former repeated disappointments in securing the services of a secretary and general agent,) their contributions have been less than in several former years. The Colonization Society of Indiana, and that of Missouri, have renewed their exertions, and Virginia retains for the scheme her early confidence and attachment. The Committee are assured that there is no abatement of

zeal in its behalf in Mississippi and Louisiana, though prevailing financial embarrassments in those States, and the want of an able agent, as in many other portions of the country, have prevented the usual amount of contributions to the parent society. In New England and some other sections of the Union, the cause of this Society has been assailed by every weapon which the subtlety and ingenuity of opponents could direct against it. So fierce and ungovernable has been the spirit of hostility, so disturbed has been the peace of ministers and churches, so extensively has suspicion been excited, and so many doubts thrown over the cause, that many intelligent and benevolent men have been led to pause and suspend their efforts for its benefit. Unfortunate impressions, produced by slight and transient causes, and individual dissensions on the African coast, of the influence of the colonists upon the cause of missions, have diminished confidence and sympathy in churches and prevented collections for the Society. Re-examination has re-established the merits of the cause in the minds of thousands, and made them its friends forever.

The committee have neglected no proper means of securing the services of able and judicious agents, but their endeavors have been attended with but partial success. In Pennsylvania, the Rev. J. B. Pinney, secretary and general agent of the Pennsylvania Society, has continued his earnest and useful labors, though various causes, especially the pecuniary embarrassments of the State, have rendered the collection of funds a work of toil and difficulty.

As secretary and general agent of the Massachusetts Society, the services of the Rev. Joseph Tracy, have been of great value, and his able writings have effectually contributed to diffuse information, correct errors, refute objections and strengthen confidence in the cause.

Mr. Franklin Knight was appointed early in the year to visit, as agent, various parts of Virginia, in the hope that a number of large unpaid subscriptions might be collected, and that a fund might be raised to enlarge by purchase, the Liberian territory. The pecuniary embarrassments in that State rendered it impossible to raise large sums of money, yet the faithful exertions of Mr. Knight, it is hoped, will not only result in the addition of a valuable amount to the funds of the society, but in awakening the minds of many to interest in the cause, and the formation of several auxiliary societies.

Rev. Samuel Cornelius, who had in previous years rendered very important service to the cause, has been earnestly engaged in advancing the interests of the Society in the State of Connecticut, and for a portion of the year in New Jersey.

Captain George Barker, who has long labored indefatigably and suc-

cessfully for the Institution, more particularly in the New England States, has continued his exertions in those States, and New York, principally in making collections and obtaining subscriptions to the African Repository.

The Rev. M. Wallace, of Ohio, and the Rev. Mr. Williams, of Kentucky, have made some efforts in their respective States during the year, and the Rev. Mr. M. Aston has recently been appointed for the State of Tennessee, but as yet, no intelligence is received of his movements.

While during the year a considerable amount of debt has been paid in the colony, and the pecuniary obligations of the Society been there reduced; yet the Committee regret to say, that owing to the failures of the usual resources from some of the most wealthy States of the Union, the full amount proposed to be raised at the last annual meeting, has not been received. The operations of the Society have thus been restricted and embarrassed, and the still remaining debt of the Society not materially diminished. The pecuniary difficulties of the country felt by all benevolent societies, and by almost every individual, the absence of the usual amount of aid from New York, Pennsylvania, Mississippi, and Louisiana, the too general neglect of ministers and churches, disposed to avoid agitated and controverted topics, to take up collections; the impossibility of obtaining able agents for certain districts of country, the obstacles thrown by the enemies of the Society in the way of those who have been employed, will afford an explanation of the financial condition of the Society. It should be added, that receipts from legacies have been smaller the last, than in several preceding years. Some bequests are still due the Society, but embarrassed by pending suits. It has been deemed expedient the last as in previous years, from motives of economy, in the necessary expenditures at the colony, to send a small stock of trade goods to the public store, and the returns have been as large as could be expected. By entering more largely into this commerce, could permanent arrangements be made, for securing regular intercourse by vessels under the control of the Society, between this country and the various settlements of the colony and other points on the coast, the Committee doubt not the means of the Institution might be much augmented.

From an extensive correspondence, and from intercourse with numerous individuals in various parts of the country, the Committee are well assured, that the limited income of the Society the last year, is not to be traced to a diminution of interest in the cause; but on the contrary, that the attachment of its friends every where is increasing, and that in more favorable times and circumstances they will extend to it that assistance which it merits and requires.

The difficulties which the colony has experienced from the interference of foreign traders, and the collisions and injuries to which it will be exposed, should any foreign Power establish itself on any portion of the coast to which its Government has pre-emptive rights, or so near in its vicinity as necessarily to, restrain its advantages and restrict its growth, are subjects which have not escaped the consideration of the Committee. They have invoked the friendly interposition of our own Government to induce both the authorities of England and France to abstain from planting establishments on any portion of the coast from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, but they are not informed of the results of the representations which they are assured have been made on behalf of the Society, through our ministers, to at least one of these Governments.

Near the close of the last session of Congress, Mr Kennedy, of the Committee on Commerce, to whom had been referred the memorial of the Colonization convention, held in this city in May, 1842, presented a very valuable report, which has since been printed by order of Congress, with a great variety of documents relating to the history of African Colonization, the slave-trade, the condition, climate, people, commercial and agricultural resources of Africa. This report says :

"It is vitally important that the territory of the colonies should be enlarged, and that their jurisdiction should become clear and incontestible over the whole line of coast between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas, a distance of about three hundred miles ; and that in case of hostilities between this and any European country, their rights as neutrals, should be recognized and respected. The increase of legitimate commerce on the western coast of Africa is already strongly tempting the enterprize of English merchants, and serious difficulties have arisen between British traders claiming rights, independent of the governments of Liberia and Maryland within their territorial limits. Naval officers of Great Britain have been called on by British subjects to interpose and defend them against the revenue laws of the colonies ; and the French, the committee are informed, have sought to obtain a cession of lands within the limits of Liberia just referred to, and to which the people of that colony have a pre-emptive right.

"As neither Great Britain nor any European Government, has to the knowledge of the committee claimed political jurisdiction from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas ; as such claim if by possibility it exists, has arisen long since the colonies were founded ; as those who occupy these settlements have gone thither to establish for themselves, their posterity, and multitudes who may follow them, a republican commonwealth, capable of indefinite enlargement, it is essential that they be not disturbed in the exercise of rights already acquired, or precluded from extending their authority over the entire line of coast, (from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas) generally known as Liberia. An appropriation of a few thousand dollars to enable the colonists to effect negotiations with the native chiefs, by which the native title to this region of Africa should be extinguished, and the jurisdiction of their Government over it rendered unquestionable, would in the judgment of your committee, whether regarded as a measure auxiliary to the suppression of the slave-trade or to the interests of American commerce be highly expedient. In all treaties for the purchase of lands, it might be stipulated that on the part of the African chiefs the

slave-trade should be forever abandoned, and their attention directed to the more gainful pursuits of agricultural industry, and to the exchange of the rich products of their country, for those of the manufacturing skill of this and other civilized nations. The people of the colonies, thus encouraged, would co-operate most effectively with our naval squadron in carrying out the humane and philanthropic purpose of the recent treaty, for the overthrow of the slave-trade, and become factors and agents to increase and extend American commerce in that quarter of the world. It is believed that \$20,000 thus expended would effect more for the furtherance of both these objects, than \$100,000 expended in any other way.

"The committee have abundant evidence, to which they refer in the documents accompanying this report, to show the increase of lawful commerce on the African coast, and that for want of adequate protection, and the due attention of our Government to the subject, it has been prosecuted by our own citizens under great disadvantages. To the testimony of Dr. James Hall, a gentleman entitled to full confidence, and who has resided long in Africa, the committee invite the special attention of the House. This testimony is confirmed by the information recently given to the world in the report and accompanying documents of a committee of the English House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the condition of the British settlements and their relations to the native tribes of Western Africa. The annual imports from Western Africa into this country probably exceed a million of dollars, and into Great Britain are about four millions. The palm-oil trade now becoming of great value had hardly an existence twelve years ago, is rapidly increasing, and may be increased to an almost indefinite extent. Hitherto the slave-trade has been at war with all improvement and every kind of innocent commerce; its cessation will be succeeded by the cultivation of the soil, and the growth of trade in all the varied and valuable productions of the African climate. It is of infinite importance that the natives of Africa should be convinced that agricultural labor, and the substitution of lawful trade for the infamous commerce in human beings, will be for their advantage, and that in their intercourse with them, our own merchants should possess every privilege granted to those of England, or any other nation.

"The establishment of a commercial agent, (as recommended by Dr. Hall,) to reside in Liberia, and occasionally to visit in a Government vessel, various points on the coast, to ascertain the best sites for mercantile establishments, to form conventions and treaties of commerce and for the suppression of the slave-trade with the principal chiefs, to take charge of the stores and other property sent out for our ships-of-war, to guard the rights and interests of our seamen, and secure for American vessels a free and unrestrained right of trade at all important stations, the committee would recommend as an object urgently demanded by interest and humanity.

"The time has arrived, in the opinion of the committee, when this subject of African Colonization has become sufficiently important to attract the attention of the people in its connection with the question of the political relations which these colonies are to hold with our Government. Founded partly by the private enterprise of American citizens, and partly by the aid of federal and state authorities, recognized as political communities by our laws, and even owing their regulation in some degree, to the legislation of a State of this Union, (as in the case of Maryland) they have attained a position in which, obviously, they must very soon become objects of consideration to the world, both for the commerce which may be under their control, and for the agency they are likely to exercise in the final disenthralment of the continent to which they belong. It may speedily become apparent to the observation of Christendom, that the slave-trade may more cer-

tainly, effectually and cheaply be destroyed by the colonial power on shore, than by all the squadrons of Europe and America afloat. The growth of such a conviction will inevitably draw an anxious and friendly eye towards the American colonies, from every power which sincerely pursues the charitable work of relieving Africa from her horrible traffic, and mankind from the reproach of permitting it. The influence of such a sentiment, we may conceive will greatly advance the interests and magnify the value of the colonies. It would appear to be our duty, before an occasion of conflicting interest may arise, to take such steps towards the recognition of our appropriate relations to these communities, as may hereafter secure to them the protection of this Government, and to our citizens the advantages of commercial intercourse with them."

The following resolutions are submitted at the close of this report.

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the increasing importance of the colonies on the western coast of Africa, both in regard to the commerce of that coast and their influence in suppressing the slave-trade, renders it expedient that an agent should be appointed by the Government to protect and advance the interests of American trade in that region; that said agent should reside at some convenient point in the said colonies; and that he should be empowered to form treaties or conventions with the native tribes on the coast of Africa, for the advancement of American trade, and for the suppression of the traffic in slaves.

"And be it further resolved, That the subject of settling the political relations proper to be adopted and maintained between this Government and the colonies now established or which may hereafter be established, on the coast of Africa, by the citizens or public authorities of the United States, or any of the States, be referred to the Secretary of State, with a direction that he report thereon to the next Congress."

The committee cherish the hope, that some early and effectual measures in accordance with the general views of this report, will be adopted by Congress.

The value of this document, as a source of information on almost every topic connected with the enterprise of African Colonization, cannot well be over-estimated. The subject is now fully and fairly before the nation. Every consideration connected with the suppression of the slave trade, and the protection and advancement of our commerce on the African coast, the very objects, for which our squadron is there maintained, demands that a fostering care should be extended by the Government, to the colonies of Liberia. "Here," says Dr. Hall, "our Government finds ready at hand the very establishment which a sagacious statesman would have desired, a key of that vast continent, to unlock and open its treasures to our commerce, a foothold from which, with the least possible protection, we could not be dislodged. We have thus far realized all the advantages of colonial possessions without the expense of founding and supporting them. We have the material for extending and perpetuating colonies on the coast of Africa, not possessed by any other nation in the world; and why should all these advantages be sacrificed. Why should

we not at least, seek to retain what we already possess, when it can so easily be done."

The committee are gratified to observe, that the report of Mr. Kennedy has attracted much attention, and they are happy to conclude this report with a passage from an able and instructive article in the last number of the Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review.

"No idea," "says the writer, is dearer to them [the Liberians] than that of becoming an independent nation, and we acknowledge, that it is our earnest wish, that Liberia may never become dependent on any nation. Let it under providence, become a great and virtuous Republic. No nation, in its beginning ever had a brighter prospect before it. Let the American Government become the ally and protector of these colonies. Let them assist them, to complete the purchase of those portions of territory, the title of which has not yet been acquired from the natives. Let them avail themselves of the advantages, which these colonies present, for prosecuting that valuable commerce, which is now opening to the world; and let them combine their efforts with those of other nations, in untiring efforts to suppress the slave trade, in which benevolent enterprise, they will find the Liberians their most efficient coadjutors. **BUT LET LIBERIA FOREVER BE FREE.** The greatest difficulties attending the establishment of a colony, are already overcome, and we do entertain the confident and pleasing expectation, that Liberia is destined to be a grand republic, which shall extend its benign influence into the very centre of the dark continent of Africa. And we do believe that it is the design of a wise and benignant providence to make Liberia the asylum of the whole African race, now dispersed over a large part of this continent, and the West India Islands. In our view, there is no spot on the globe better calculated to interest the Christian and philanthropist, than this little republic on the western coast of Africa. When the historian shall survey the events of the nineteenth century, we are of opinion, that his eye will fix with intense interest, on the bold, but benevolent enterprise, of colonizing the free people of color on the coast of Africa. And that such an enterprise should have been undertaken by a voluntary association, without the co-operation of the Government; and that it should have been successful, will be a subject of wonder to future ages. It is our sincere persuasion, that no event, which has occurred in the world since the commencement of the nineteenth century, is at all equal in real importance to the successful establishment of this little colony. We do not think, that the history of the world can furnish a parallel to the accomplishment of this work, by voluntary association of benevolent men."

The committee will add only, that however wide and fair a prospect is opened by this enterprise to the eye of philanthropy, however great the

wisdom and sagacity that devised it, or the benevolence and piety of those who in the service of the Society have sacrificed their lives on the coast of Africa, none deserve higher praise than those men of color who have engaged in it with an unconquerable resolution, determined at all hazards to lift the covering of night and barbarism from the African mind, to re-kindle the extinguished hopes, and re-build the broken fortunes of their race.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, AT THEIR ANNUAL MEETING.

WASHINGTON CITY, *January 17, 1844.*

The BOARD OF DIRECTORS of the American Colonization Society met.
Present—

Rev. C. C. Cuyler, D. D., P. T. Jones, Esq., Rev. A. D. Gillett, *Delegates from the Pennsylvania Colonization Society*—A. G. Phelps, Esq., *New York Colonization Society*—Rev. Joseph Tracy, *Massachusetts Colonization Society*—Rev. Elias Harrison, Rev. John Davis, *District of Columbia Colonization Society*—Elliott Cresson, Esq., *Life Director*—Rev. R. R. Gurley, W. McLain, M. St. C. Clarke, Esq., H. L. Ellsworth, Esq., *Members Executive Committee.*

Rev. Dr. Cuyler was called to the chair, and the Rev. W. McLain was appointed Secretary.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read.

On motion of the Rev. Joseph Tracy, it was

Resolved, That the Annual Report be taken up, and so much thereof as relates to the state of the colony be referred to a committee; and that so much thereof as relates to the state of the cause in this country be referred to another committee, each committee to consist of three members.

Whereupon the Chairman appointed Messrs. TRACY, GILLETT, and DAVIS, a committee on the state of the cause in this country; and

MESSRS. CRESSON, HARRISON, and JONES, on the state of the Colony.

The Rev. R. R. Gurley offered the following resolutions, viz :

1. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to consider the financial interests of the Society, and by what means the income of the Society may be increased.
2. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to consider what, if any, further measures should be adopted to increase the confidence of all the friends of missions, and to secure their aid to the cause.
3. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to consider what, if any, further measures should be adopted to secure aid from the General and State Governments, and also to secure a friendly recognition by foreign powers of the rights and interests of Liberia.
4. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to consider whether any and what measures should be adopted to secure some increased advantages from trade with the Colony; and, also, whether and what arrangements should be made to establish a regular line of packets, to sail at least twice a year at certain times for the Colony.

On motion of the REV. W. McLAIN, the first and third of these resolutions were referred to the committee appointed on the state of the cause in this country, and the second and fourth to the committee on the present state of the colony.

On motion, it was resolved, that JAMES HALL, M. D., Secretary of the Maryland Colonization Society, be invited to sit with the Board as a corresponding member.

Messrs. PAUL T. JONES and A. G. PHELPS, were appointed a committee to examine the Treasurer's account, and the financial transactions of the Executive Committee.

On motion of Mr. Jones, it was resolved, that a committee of three be appointed to examine the records of the Executive Committee for the past year, and report during the meeting of the Board.

Messrs. Cuyler, Tracy, and Davis, were appointed said committee.

Adjourned to meet at 7 o'clock this evening.

The Board met agreeably to adjournment. Present, as in the morning, with the addition of Hon. H. A. Wise, Delegate from the Virginia Colonization Society; Hon. John Stewart, Delegate from the Connecticut State Colonization Society; Hon. Joseph Vance, Delegate from the Ohio State Colonization Society; Hon. J. Huntington, Delegate Connecticut Colonization Society.

The Rev. Joseph Tracy, from the committee on the state of the colony, made the following report:

"The Committee to whom was referred so much of the Annual Report as relates to the condition of the colony, beg leave to report:—

"That the affairs of the colony, and of the society with respect to it, appear to have been conducted on correct principles, and with as much success as it was reasonable to expect. The distance of the colony from the directing power at home, and the consequent necessity of acting often on imperfect information, both here and there; the influence of the disadvantageous position of the colonists, before emigration, on their mental culture and habits of thought and action, and the adverse influences, both African and European, with which they have had to contend in their new abode, are formidable obstacles; and the degree in which these obstacles have been overcome in the short space of about twenty years, encourages the most cheering hopes for future ages.

"The Committee notice, with peculiar gratification, the provision made by law, for a system of Common Schools, intended to meet the wants of the whole colonial population. Where a State fails to provide for the instruction of its youth, it is well for private enterprise or liberality, or associated benevolence, to step in and supply the deficiency; and perhaps this

can be done in no better way than by the action of churches. It is certain, however, that a system devised and executed by the public authorities of a Christian people, can be more efficient in reaching the whole population, in teaching thoroughly the rudiments of knowledge, and in forming correct moral habits, than any system which depends on the will of a few, and which is not armed with the power of the State. While, therefore, we would sincerely thank those "religious institutions in America," who have done so much for education in the colony, and would earnestly request their continued aid, so long and to such extent as may be necessary, we would also express the earnest hope, that the colonists will effectually take the work into their own hands, and soon render their system of education independent of charitable aid. In this attempts all depends, as it ought, on the several school districts. Let them first tax themselves liberally and then see to it that their money is well expended, and the work is done.

The Committee are gratified to learn, that the commerce of the colony is prosperous, and that agriculture is receiving increased attention. Agriculture ought certainly to be the business of the great body of the people, and should be so conducted, that, as far as practicable, each shall produce on his own farm, whatever is necessary to sustain life with comfort. By pursuing such a course, the farmer secures himself against being reduced to want in a single year, by the failure of a single kind of crop, or by a change of its price in the market. He secures that noblest boast of his calling, independence; and he takes the surest, though not the most flattering, road to wealth.

In respect to both agriculture and commerce, the Committee regret the want of more full and definite statistics. The circumstances of the case go far to excuse this deficit hitherto. We hope, however, that returns from the colony will hereafter be such as to furnish the desired information.

"The Constitution and Laws of Liberia, the Committee have not been able to examine in detail. The fact, however, that such a volume, sanctioned by an African Legislature, has issued from an African press, ought to give joy to the civilized world.

"The relations existing between Liberia and the neighboring tribes, is highly gratifying, and cannot fail to be mutually beneficial. The population of the allied tribes, before the late treaty with the Golahs, has been estimated at 60,000. Yando, head King of the Golahs, boasted that he had 50,000 subjects. His residence is supposed to be 80 or 100 miles from the coast, and his country to extend to a considerable distance beyond. After all due allowance for exaggerations, we may safely suppose

that these treaties cover an extent of 100 miles inland, and embrace nearly 100,000 natives. Among all these, war and the slave trade are abolished, much of barbarism and of cruel and degrading superstition has been removed, and civilization and Christianity are making progress. They are brought, or rather, having watched and considered the subject for twenty years and become convinced of its advantages, they have sought and obtained admittance, into habitual and friendly intercourse with civilized and Christian men, in the hope and for the sake of learning to be like them. And more than this: they think themselves gainers by surrendering some part of their national independence, and placing themselves, in some important respects, under the control of their Christian neighbors, The influence of these relations on the diffusion of Christianity cannot be doubtful.

“This seems to be the proper place for considering, as the Committee were directed, “ what, if any, further measures should be adopted to increase the confidence of the friends of missions, and to secure their aid to the cause.” What can be necessary, more than a fair and full statement of the facts in the case? Indeed, that confidence, which was certainly somewhat impaired for a little while, seems to be reviving; as, with one exception, every society which has ministers there, is strengthening and enlarging them. Of that one exception, the mission of the American Board at Cape Palmas, it might be sufficient to say that it is not within the limits of our Colony, and we are no more responsible for its history than if it had been at the Cape of Good Hope. But we choose to add another answer.

“That mission was commenced with the intention of making Cape Palmas, not the principal field of its labor, but a mere stepping stone, from which to reach some part of Central Africa. There was then no other mission there. The Board was urged to embrace the Colonists, as well as the natives, in the field of its labors; but being chartered for the specific purpose of missions to the heathen, thought itself restrained from sending missions to Christian Colonists. It was the policy of the colony to amalgamate the interests of the natives with their own. The policy of the mission, then almost as strong as the colony, and expending all its labors for the benefit of the natives, naturally tended to raise up a native interest, distinct from the Colonial. This was the true root of the difficulty. All the unpleasant collisions of the missions of that Board with the Colony, are to be traced ultimately to this source. The two communities were not well constituted for working together in a feeble colony, and in a district of small extent. It is within the knowledge of your Committee, that some of the principal officers of the American Board became convinced of this, and feared that if present difficulties were settled, others would arise from

the same cause. Meanwhile two other missions had been planted there, and three missions could not be expected to labor permanently in such close contiguity, without collision with each other. Meanwhile, also, an opening was found at the Gaboon river, a thousand miles nearer the point which the mission was intended to reach. It was occupied, and soon found so favorable, that the Board resolved to remove its whole establishment to that place. In all this, there is nothing to prove that missions, conducted on a plan adapted to the state of the country, cannot flourish. even at Cape Palmas ; while the increase of other missions there, proves that they can.

It is said by some, that the colonies are prejudicial to missions, because the example of irreligious colonists corrupts the natives ; but such objectors surely cannot know what the natives were before they felt the elevating influence of the colony. Blind adherents of the most degrading idolatry, polygamists, kidnappers, and some of them cannibals from time immemorial, and having been for nearly three centuries under the exclusive tuition of European slave traders and pirates from whom they had thoroughly learned all the vices of civilization which savages are capable of learning, they were incapable of being demoralized. Numerous attempts were made to plant missions among them, and every one failed. And besides all this, the treaties before alluded to show conclusively, that notwithstanding the bad examples of some colonists, which are not so bad as the slave-trading specimens of Christianity which the colony has driven away, the natives know that the Christian system is better than theirs, and produces a better state of society ; and therefore the balance of influence is immensely in its favor.

The resolution concerning the increase of trade and the establishment of packets, the committee have not had time to consider.

Respectfully submitted for the committee.

JOSEPH TRACY,

Chairman.

On motion of Paul T. Jones, Esq., the report was accepted.

On motion of the Rev. J. B. Pinney, the report was adopted.

Elliott Cresson, Esq., from the committee on the present state⁷ of the cause in this country, made a report, which,

On motion of Mr. Tracy, was accepted; and, after some amendments was laid on the table ; (and at the close of the proceedings was again taken up, further amended and adopted, and will be found in its proper place.)

On motion of Mr. JONES, the Board adjourned to meet at 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

January 18, 1844.

The Board met agreeably to adjournment. The minutes of the meeting yesterday morning were read and approved.

The committee appointed to examine the Treasurer's account, and the financial transactions of the Executive Committee, made the following report:—See account current for 1843.

On motion of Rev. John Davis, this report was accepted and adopted.

On motion of Mr. DAVIS, the Board adjourned to meet at 5 o'clock this evening.

5 o'clock, P. M.

The Board met agreeably to adjournment. The minutes of the morning's session were read and approved.

DR. CUYLER, Chairman of the Committee on the records of the Executive Committee made the following Report:

"The committee on the records of the Executive Committee, beg leave to report:

"That those records show that the duties of the executive committee have been numerous, difficult and important, and have been performed with a degree of industry, fidelity and intelligence, for which that committee well deserve our thanks. Time has not allowed us in all cases to examine the grounds of their decisions, so as to give an opinion of their correctness; but we have noticed nothing which appears to demand a re-examination or revisal.

"We would suggest the inquiry, whether there may not be, during the year now commencing, a more extensive and effectual presentation of the claims of this society before public bodies, both legislative and ecclesiastical, and indeed, before the whole country. The details of the plan of operations for this purpose, must of course be arranged from time to time by the executive committee. Much may be done by correspondence; and the Secretary and Treasurer, and other suitable agents, if such can be found, may attend important meetings, visit influential individuals, and impart information, courage and activity to our friends in various parts of the country.

"Respectfully submitted, in behalf of the committee.

"COR'S C. CUYLER, *Chairman.*"

On motion of Mr. J. B. PINNEY, this report was accepted.

Hon. W. C. RIVES, appeared and took his seat as a Delegate from the Virginia State Colonization Society.

Hon. R. C. SCHENCK, appeared as a Delegate from the Ohio State Colonization Society and took his seat.

On motion of Mr. Jones the report was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Phelps, the Board adjourned to attend the public meeting in the Capitol, and to meet again to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

January 19, 1844.

The Board met. Present Messrs. Cuyler, Phelps, Harrison, Davis, Rives, Cresson, Tracy, Jones, Gillett, Stewart, Clark, Ellsworth, Gurley, and McLain.

The minutes of the evening session were read and approved.

On motion of Mr. Jones, it was resolved that we now go into an election of members of the Executive Committee.

On motion of Mr. Stewart, it was resolved that a Committee of three be appointed to make a nomination.

Messrs. Gillett, Tracy and Davis, were appointed said Committee.

Mr. Gillett, from the above Committee made a report.

"The committee appointed to nominate members of the Executive Committee, beg leave to report the following names, viz :

"Hon. H. L. Ellsworth, Hon. M. St. Clair Clarke, Hon. W. W. Seaton, H. Lindsly, M. D., Hon. C. B. Penrose, Hon. A. O. Dayton, Rev. C. B. Davis.

"A. D. GILLETT, Chairman."

On motion of Mr. Stewart, this report was laid on the table.

And, on motion of Mr. Phelps it was resolved, that it is expedient for the Board to elect a Corresponding Secretary of the Society.

On motion of Mr. Stewart, it was resolved that the Board now proceed to the election of Corresponding Secretary.

Whereupon, the Rev. R. R. Gurley was elected.

On motion of Mr. Jones, the report of the Committee on nomination of members, of the Executive Committee was taken up, and on motion of the same, it was adopted.

After which Mr. Gurley, formally tendered his resignation of the office of Corresponding Secretary, and expressed his good feelings for the cause and his fervent wishes for its future prosperity.

On motion of Mr. Phelps, it was resolved that, the resignation of Mr. Gurley be accepted.

And, on motion of Mr. Phelps, it was resolved that the thanks of this Board are due, and are heartily tendered, to our late Corresponding Secretary, Rev. R. R. Gurley, for his long continued and valuable services, and and that while, in the kind wishes for the prosperity of the cause, and good feelings toward the members of the Board, expressed by him in resigning his office, we find assurance of his future friendly influence, we

assure him that this Board and its individual members reciprocate the feelings and that our good wishes will follow him in subsequent life.

On motion of Mr. Tracy, it was resolved that we proceed to the election of a Corresponding Secretary.

Whereupon, Rev. W. McLain was unanimously elected.

On motion of Mr. Pinney, it was resolved that, Executive Committee be authorized to appoint a Treasurer of the Society.

On motion of Mr. Phelps, the report of the Committee on that part of the Annual Report, relating to the state of the cause in this country was taken up, amended, and adopted and is as follows :

“The committee appointed on that part of the Annual Report, which relates to the state of the cause in this country, beg leave to report :

“That in relation to the financial interests of the Society, the committee, in view of the reduced state of our income, feel assured of the imperative necessity of strict economy in the expenses at the seat of Government, and therefore recommend their immediate reduction, to a sum not exceeding \$2000, per an., viz :

“For Corresponding Secretary	-	-	-	-	\$1500
“Rent	-	-	-	-	200
“Office expenses	-	-	-	-	300
					— \$2000

“With this evidence of a determination to make an economical disbursement of the funds intrusted to our care, we believe that men of a high order of usefulness may be obtained, to advocate the claims of the American Colonization Society, and to swell the amount of its funds. It is only by rendering the cause popular and securing the love of the citizens at large, that we can hope to operate successfully upon our republican government, which always *follows*, and never leads public sentiment and action. Meanwhile, we shall be happy that the local and State societies, should invoke the co-operation of the individual State Governments, and recommend this course of action.

“All of which is respectfully submitted,

ELLIOT D. CRESSON,
PAUL T. JONES.”

On motion the Annual Report was referred to, the Executive Committee for publication.

And, on motion of Mr. Jones, the Board adjourned, to meet on the third Tuesday of January, 1845.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING of the American Colonization Society was held in the Capitol on Tuesday evening, the 16th ult., when the Hon. John C. Herbert, the first on the list of Vice Presidents took the chair.

Prayer was offered by the Rev. Dr. Laurie. The Report of the Executive Committee of the Society was read by the Secretary, Mr. Gurley.

On motion of the Rev. R. T. Berry, the following resolution was adopted :

Resolved, That the Report of the Executive Committee just presented, be accepted and referred for consideration and publication to the Board of Directors.

On motion of the Rev. C. M. Butler,

Resolved, That in view of the past success and present prospects of the American Colonization Society, its friends are called upon to exert cheerful and continued efforts in its behalf; and that in the vigorous prosecution of the plan of African Colonization, is to be found the best means of arresting the slave trade, and of preparing a way for and promoting the cause of Christian missions in Africa.

On motion of the Hon. J. R. Ingersoll,

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, the friends of this Society in every part of the Union, should more and more appreciate the grandeur of their enterprize, as involving very materially in its ultimate consequences the dearest interests of two races of men, in two of the largest quarters of the globe.

On motion of the Rev. Dr. Cuyler,

Resolved, That in the decease of the venerable Dr. Proudfit, a Vice President of this Society, and long the devoted and efficient Secretary of the New York Colonization Society, this Institution has sustained a heavy loss, and that the memory of this eminent Christian philanthropist will ever be cherished by the members of this Institution, and by all the friends of Africa.

On motion of the Rev. J. B. Pinney,

Resolved, That in the judgment of this meeting, the advances of the Colony of Liberia in agriculture, commerce, and other public improvements has equalled all reasonable expectations; and that, although the progress of such improvements in such a colony, is at first necessarily slow, they have already been such as to demonstrate the general industry and enterprize of the people, and the vast resources of the country.

On motion of the Rev. J. N. Danforth,

Resolved, That the moral, civilizing and Christian influence exerted by the people of Liberia over many African tribes, and the earnest efforts of its ministers of the gospel, and many of its citizens to enlighten the minds of the neighboring heathen with the great truths of Christianity, should excite the sympathies and confidence of all the friends of missions, and induce the clergy and churches of every name to extend to this colony a more constant and liberal support.

On motion of M. St. Clair Clark,

Resolved, That this Society will cherish an affectionate remembrance of the Hon. William Halsey, for several years very earnestly and successfully engaged in the promotion of the cause of African Colonization in the State of New Jersey.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. Morehead, it was

Resolved, That the Society hold another public meeting in this hall on Thursday evening the 18th inst.

After which the Society adjourned to meet in the Colonization Office at 10 o'clock, A. M. to-morrow.

At a meeting of the Society, at the office of the same on Wednesday morning the 17th at 10 o'clock, the Hon. L. Q. C. Elmer, one of the Vice Presidents, took the chair.

The Secretary, Mr. Gurley, moved the appointment of a committee to nominate the President and Vice Presidents of the Society.

The following gentlemen were appointed on the committee: Messrs. A. G. Phelps, Pinney, Jones, Tracy, and Davis.

Mr. Phelps, from the committee, after retiring for a short time, made the following nomination which was approved:

Honorable HENRY CLAY, *President.*

Vice Presidents.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 John C. Herbert, of Maryland, | 33 James Garland, of Virginia, |
| 2 General John H. Cocke, of Virginia, | 34 Rev. Thomas Morris, Bishop of the |
| 3 Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, | M. E. Church, Ohio, |
| 4 Charles F. Mercer, Florida, | 35 Rt. Hon. Lord Bexley, of London, |
| 5 Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D., of Conn., | 36 Wm. Short, of Philadelphia, |
| 6 John Cotton Smith, of Connecticut, | 37 Willard Hall, of Delaware, |
| 7 Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New York, | 38 Rt. Rev. Bishop Otey, of Tenn. |
| 8 Louis McLane, of Baltimore, | 39 Gerald Ralston, of London, |
| 9 Moses Allen, of New York, | 40 Rev. Courtland Van Ransselaer, N. J., |
| 10 General W. Jones, of Washington, | 41 Dr. Hodgkin, of London, |
| 11 Samuel H. Smith, of Washington, | 42 Rev. E. Burgess, D. D., of Dedham, |
| 12 Joseph Gales, of Washington, | Massachusetts, |
| 13 Right Rev. Wm. Meade, D. D., Bishop | 43 Thos. R. Hazard, of Providence, R. I., |
| of Virginia, | 44 Dr. Thos. Massie, of Tye River Mills, |
| 14 Alexander Porter, of Louisiana, | Virginia, |
| 15 John McDonogh, of Louisiana, | 45 Gen. Alexander Brown, of Virginia, |
| 16 Geo. Washington Lafayette, of France, | 46 Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott, Washington, |
| 17 Rev. James O. Andrew, Bishop of the | 47 Rev. Thos. E. Bond, D. D., N. York, |
| Methodist Episcopal Church, | 48 Rev. A. Alexander, D. D., N. J., |
| 18 William Maxwell, of Virginia, | 49 Samuel Wilkeson, of New York, |
| 19 Elisha Whittlesey, of Ohio, | 50 A. P. Upshur, of Washington, |
| 20 Walter Lowrie, of New York, | 51 L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey, |
| 21 Jacob Burnett, of Ohio, | 52 James Railey, of Mississippi, |
| 22 Joshua Darling, of New Hampshire, | 53 Rev. George W. Bethune, D. D., of |
| 23 Dr. Stephen Duncan, of Mississippi, | Philadelphia, |
| 24 William C. Rives, of Virginia, | 54 Rev. C. C. Cuyler, D. D., of Phila., |
| 25 Rev. J. Laurie, D. D., of Washington, | 55 Elliot Cresson, Esq., of Phila., |
| 26 Rev. Wm. Hawley, of Washington, | 56 Anson G. Phelps, Esq., New York, |
| 27 Rev. Wm. Winans, of Mississippi, | 57 Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., Andover, |
| 28 James Boorman, of New York City, | Massachusetts, |
| 29 Henry A. Foster, of New York, | 58 Jonathan Hyde, Esq., Bath, Maine, |
| 30 Dr. John Ker, of Mississippi, | 59 Rev. J. P. Durbin, D. D., Carlisle, Pa., |
| 31 Robert Campbell, of Georgia, | 60 Rev. Beverley Waugh, Bishop of M. E. |
| 32 Peter D. Vroom, of New Jersey, | Church, Baltimore. |

Mr. Gurley rose and spoke of the long continued and important services of Col. W. L. Stone, and moved that he also be appointed a Vice President, which motion was adopted.—Rev. J. B. Pinney rose and offered the following preamble and resolution.

WHEREAS, In the origin of the Colonization scheme, the aid and protection of the General Government was expected to be extended to the Colonies—And,

WHEREAS, The work of extending, governing and providing for their interests, has grown a ready beyond the means of voluntary association—And,

WHEREAS, The present interests and future welfare of the Colonies in Africa, need

the fostering care of some friendly State; and, Whereas, by reason of Constitutional and other obstacles, such care and protection has not been obtained from the Government of the United States, and is not likely to be extended. Therefore,

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to consider the wisdom and propriety of ceding said colonies to some European power—or, of securing their friendly protection for the colonies, and also to report the measure proper for such action.

This resolution, after some discussion in which Messrs. Pinney, Tracy, Cuyler, and Gurley, participated, was, on motion of Dr. Cuyler, referred over for consideration to the Board of Directors. After some further remarks from Messrs. Harrison, Cresson, and Gurley, on motion of the Rev. Mr. McLain, a committee was appointed by the Chairman to make arrangements for the public meeting to be held to-morrow evening at the Capitol, consisting of Messrs. Cresson, Harrison, and McLain.

The Society then adjourned until to-morrow evening at 7 o'clock.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *Jan. 8th, 1844.*

The Society met agreeably to adjournment. The Rev. Dr. Laurie, one of the Vice Presidents, took the chair. The minutes of the preceding meetings were read.

The Hon. Mr. Morehead presented and ably advocated the following resolutions, which were adopted.

Resolved, That since the colony of Liberia is powerfully contributing to the suppression of the African slave-trade, and the protection and increase of American commerce on the African coast, as well as to the cause of African civilization, it be recommended to the Board of Directors and to the several State Colonization Societies to continue their applications to the general government, for such aid, by the direct appropriation of funds, and the co-operation of the United States squadron on that coast, as shall enable the Colony of Liberia to acquire entire jurisdiction over the whole line of that coast from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas.

Resolved, That in view of the vast benefits to mankind of the enterprize in which the Colonization Society is now engaged of planting a colony of colored freemen, on the coast of Africa, it is incumbent on the people of the United States to give to that Society a cordial and efficient support.

Elliot Cresson, Esq., addressed the meeting on the vast objects contemplated by the Society, and the advantage which the agricultural and manufacturing interests of this country would derive from their vigorous prosecution.

The Rev. Mr. Gillett offered and advocated the following resolution which was adopted.

WHEREAS, The Colonization Society belongs to no party in politics, to no one denomination of Christians, and to no one section of our beloved country—Therefore,

Resolved, That it is the duty of all philanthropists to promote its civil and educational prosperity, and of all churches to co-operate with its religious inhabitants in spreading among them and the contiguous native tribes, the glorious gospel of the blessed God.

On motion of the Rev. Mr. Tinsley, the Rev. Dr. W. B. Johnson, of South Carolina, was added to the list of Vice Presidents of the Society.

Paul J. Jones, Esq., addressed the meeting on the importance of increasing the contributions to the Society, and extending its operations both in this country and in Africa.

After which the Society adjourned to meet again on the third Tuesday of January, 1845.

Dr. {

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,
From 1st Jan., 1843, to 1st Jan., 1844.

56

{ Cr.

To balances due the Society per last report, \$3,782 21, including cash balance in treasury \$120 12	\$3,902 33	By balances due by the Society per last Report	\$11,559 94
Receipts from Colonial store -	10,027 57	Colonial store, for goods sent -	6,724 74
Donations and subscriptions -	17,526 37	Colony of Liberia, goods and salaries -	5,966 46
Legacies - - -	1,933 34	Emigrants' account for passages, provisions, &c. -	4,009 75
African Repository - - -	2,704 33	Contingent—salaries, office expenses, &c. -	4,499 45
Balances now due by the Society not including <i>old debts</i> -	7,512 30	Expense account—commissions to agents -	2,300 01
		Profit and Loss by barque Renown, discount on uncurrent money, &c. -	1,757 36
		African Repository—expenses - - -	2,209 17
		Paid Dr. J. W. Lugenbeel, Col. Physician -	375 00
		Do. Dr. J. L. Day - - - - -	151 50
		Cash, balance in treasury - - - -	305 55
		Balances due the Society—collectable -	352 50
		Leger balances due the Society, supposed to be worthless and now charged to profit and loss—by order of the Auditing Committee of the Board of Directors 17th inst. - - - -	3,394 78
	\$43,606 24		\$43,606 24

The undersigned committee appointed to audit the accounts of the treasurer and executive committee, from Jan. 1, 1843, to Dec. 31, 1843, have performed the duty assigned them, and find the above statement correct.

A. G. PHELPS,
PAUL T. JONES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17, 1844.

N. B. From the above statement, it will be seen that the exact amount of the receipts of the Society during the year 1843, was \$32,191 61.

[February,

From the Maryland Colonization Journal.

OUR "AFRICAN SQUADRONS."

It is well known that by the eighth article of the Treaty of Washington, the United States Government stipulated to maintain a naval force on the West Coast of Africa, of not less than eighty guns, to co-operate with the British squadron on that coast in the suppression of the slave trade. The causes too, which led to the adoption of this article are generally well understood. Like the settlement of the north-eastern boundary, the *points of controversy* arising out of the questions of *right of search*, of visitation, and the abuse of these rights, were laid aside, and a compromise effected in the terms of the treaty. And although the arrangement was unexpected by all, and unsatisfactory to many, yet we believe it is generally conceded that the measure was a most judicious one, and the most honorable way of avoiding international difficulties. The British government plainly saw that without the right of search or visitation, or (laying aside terms) without the right of ascertaining the true character and nationality of all vessels on the coast of Africa, all their efforts, their immense outlay of treasure, and sacrifice of life in their extended attempts to abolish the slave trade must prove abortive, yea, worse than abortive, as they did not lessen the number shipped, but merely exposed the victims of the traffic to increased sufferings and torture. She felt, therefore, that her claims on this point, (claims too, which have ever been granted by courtesy on the high seas between friendly powers for the suppression of piracy, which the slave trade has been declared by the United States government) were but reasonable and ought to be complied with. She asked too, only what she was willing to grant in turn. On the other hand, the people of the United States justly felt jealous of granting to the British Government a right or privilege which bore a strong affinity, in name at least, to one formerly claimed by that power and which we had spent our blood in resisting. They too, well knew that the exercise of this very power, or right of visit, which had for the few past years been permitted on that coast as a matter of courtesy, had been grossly abused by officers of the British navy, and that the regular American traders even to English settlements, with all evidences of nationality and lawful traffic on board, had been seized and adjudicated in the "court of mixed commissions," in a British port, and confiscated. The position of the parties, therefore, was such that for either to persist in its demands would be incompatible with a continuation of friendly nations. Great Britain readily received the acquisition of eighty guns to assist in the suppression of the slave trade in lieu of the "right of visitation" of suspected vessels bearing the American flag, and the American government, while it felt bound in honor and principle to refuse this concession, could not do less than grant a show of assistance in suppressing a traffic which she had long since denounced as piracy on the high seas.

Thus, whatever may have been the ostensible or avowed object in the establishment of our squadron on the African coast, or whatever may be its consequences or results, it cannot be denied that it was done rather as a matter of compromise than principle, rather to allow England to suppress the slave trade than with a view of doing much ourselves. In proof of this, it is only sufficient to say, that the state of things which now requires a squadron there has existed for the past twenty years.

But no matter what may have been the immediate causes which led to the adoption of this measure, inasmuch as it has been adopted, and must be continued during the period of five years from the date of the treaty, it certainly is the duty of our government to reap all possible benefits therefrom, and to make it in all practicable ways available to the interests of American citizens. It has often been alleged (but we think unjustly) that the measures taken by the English government for the suppression of the slave trade, are rather adopted for the purposes of protecting their commerce on that coast and extending their sway over the interior, thereby creating a vast market for their manufactured exports. That this is a secondary object, and a justly important and praiseworthy one too, cannot be doubted, and that government has managed the matter with much credit to itself and advantage not only to her citizens but to the native Africans. The suppression of the slave trade, the civilization of Africa, the protection of her commerce and the furnishing a market for the products of the industry of her own citizens, go hand-in-hand, are all alike, objects of interests to that government, and are advanced by the same measures. By her navy she clears that coast of pirates and freebooters; she forms treaties of commerce with unfrequented tribes and enforces from them just and honest intercourse with her merchantmen; she seizes the freighted slave ship and transports its wretched victims to her colonies and trains them up as "British subjects." By her colonies planted at the entrance of the great rivers and prominent points of that coast, she secures all trade, so far as their influence extends, to the virtual exclusion of vessels of all other nations. These, too, furnish depots for merchandise for coast trade and transshipment, places of relief for disabled vessels and sick and distressed seamen, and points from which civilization and *British influence* spreads in all directions.

But, up to this period, what has the *American* government done? Nothing—nothing. And now that a squadron has been sent out—that appropriations have been made for the purpose, that the attention of the government and the American people has been directed towards Africa, we might almost give the same answer to the same interrogatory. On the ground that the first object of the squadron is the suppression of the slave trade, we would ask how are the measures in process calculated to effect this object? Why, so far as we understand it, in the least manner possible, with the fulfilment of the letter of the treaty. In the first place with regard to the character of the vessels despatched to that station. The recent Report of the Secretary of the Navy says, the cruising ground of our squadron extends from the "Madeira and Canary Islands to the Bight of Biafra, and from the African coast to the thirtieth degree of west longitude," a distance of coast line, independent of breadth or longitude, of near three thousand miles. It is well known that of late years, with barely two exceptions, all vessels known to be engaged in the slave trade, have depended altogether upon their speed, or swiftness, to enable them to escape molestation from cruisers. Now with such an extent of cruising ground where little or no defence on part of the slaver is to be expected or can be made, it must be obvious that next to sending out an eighty gun ship, thereby fulfilling the *letter* of the treaty, our vessels at present on that station are of the least possible utility, the squadron consisting of one frigate, two sloops of war and a brig. Of the sailing qualities of these vessels, ex-

cepting the brig Porpoise, we know nothing, but we never saw a slaver on that coast that would run the least risk in taking off slaves in sight of her. In order to insure any degree of success in arresting the slave trade by our eighty gun squadron, it should be composed of the smallest sized vessels in the service, with but one long gun amidships and a complement not exceeding thirty men all told.

With regard to their station and cruising grounds. This is so extended and needlessly too, that the squadron of four vessels absolutely becomes lost in it. Nobody ever heard of a slaver to the windward of Cape Verd in prosecution of the traffic. Madeira, the Canaries or the Cape de Verd Islands, doubtless afford more agreeable stopping places to the officers and men than are to be found on the coast, but never a slaver. At Bissaos in the Rio Grand, the slave trade commences, and occasional factories exist along the coast as far down as New Cesters, a distance of some five hundred miles. From New Cesters there is not a slave factory for near one thousand miles of coast line, including a part of the Grain Coast, Ivory and Gold Coasts, and the European forts, to Whydah. Here they again commence and continue across the line, occupying all the great outlets of the Niger and other rivers. In order therefore to operate with any effect upon this trade, the cruising should be confined to those parts of the coast in which it is carried on. The only possible chance of securing a slaver by a sailing vessel, is to watch the factories themselves, to lie off and on until one heaves in sight and then give chase. The slaves must be shipped from the factories or their vicinity, and if close watch is kept the carrying vessels can often be secured.

But there is another important object to be effected by the African squadron, and one too which must be presumed the executive had in view in the formation of the treaty, viz: the advancement and protection of the American commerce with Africa. And the question at once arises: how can this object best be effected? We answer, in two ways; first, directly, by the formation of treaties of commerce with the more important native tribes on different sections of the coast, through their kings and head trade men: and secondly, indirectly, by affording aid to the American colonies already established there. What instructions have been given to the commandant on that station with regard to advancing our commercial interests there, or of forming treaties of commerce with the native chiefs, if any, we cannot say: but certainly there never occurred a more favorable opportunity of effecting a great and permanent good to our country. It is well known that the African continent is one of the most valuable and productive in the world, that her natural resources are unequalled by any other, and that she has a population abundantly able with proper inducements to develop them. It is well known, too, that at this time the great commercial nations of Europe are striving for precedence in the acquisition of the commerce of this continent. It is known, too, that the greatest article of traffic with Africa can be procured only in the United States, viz: tobacco; and that heavy cottons, gunpowder and spirits, the next in importance in order, we can compete with any European country in manufacturing and exporting. With such advantages for such a commerce, and with our present facilities for securing it, ought not some arrangements to be made at this time to place it on a safe and permanent footing ere it is too late? Unless something is done we predict that

twenty years hence there will not be a river, bay or canoe landing of consequence on the coast of Africa open to the free entrance of an American bottom. The first step to be taken is to form treaties of commerce with the native chiefs on all parts of the coast not now claimed by European governments. A permanency could be given to such treaties by the purchase of a small point of land, which would afford a safe boat or canoe landing. This spot need not be protected or defended, the bare purchase and cession would prevent an ultimate transfer of the whole to some European power. This would ever secure to our merchantmen a right of trade of which they could not be dispossessed except by open force. If this is not done we shall soon learn that such and such a section of the coast has passed into the hands of the English, French, German or Danish governments, that a colony is established at such a point, and no foreign vessel is allowed to trade with the natives, or even to enter any goods or merchandise which will in any degree conflict with the interests of the commerce of the nation thus occupying, as is the case now at the French settlements of Senegal and Goree, the British of Gambia and Sierre Leone, the Dutch at Elmina and Accra, and in fact at all the European settlements on the coast.

But, in addition to this, our commerce needs the protection of American vessels of war, protection both from pirates and the more barbarous tribes with whom we traffic. We not only require their protection from violence but in enforcing the fulfilment of contracts. The system of trade on the most important marts, as in the great rivers in the Bights of Benin and Biaffra, is such that aid of this kind is absolutely necessary to its successful prosecution. In the first place on the arrival of a vessel say of three hundred tons burthen, a dash or present, called comei, is exacted by the chiefs of the country of not less than one thousand dollars in value, before any trade palaver can be opened. The entire cargo must then be delivered to the trade-men at the direction of the chiefs, on credit. The owner of the merchandize, therefore, must depend entirely upon the integrity of these people for a return cargo, and generally, if he is unprotected or the flag unknown, he must induce them to believe it for their ultimate interest to pay up well, or the voyage will turn out but a sorry one. This regulation has to this day almost entirely excluded American vessels from the most profitable points of trade. They cannot with safety entrust their cargo to those from whom they have no means of enforcing payment. But the case is very different with the English trader. In most cases a regular treaty of commerce has been made between an officer of his government and the chiefs, and he lands his goods in accordance therewith, well knowing that in case of any great default or delay in re-payment, he has but to threaten them with a "man-of-war" and the balance is at once made up. If something in the way of treaty or purchase is not speedily done, we again repeat, that the commerce of that coast, at least the important part of it, will speedily be lost to the United States, and it is only a matter of astonishment to us that our vessels have not long ere this been excluded from the Delta of the Niger and other large rivers.

The second and most efficient mode of advancing our commercial interests in Africa and securing a permanent market for American produce, we have said is, by affording protection to, and cherishing the American

colonies already established there. This we would urge both as a matter of policy on part of our government and of *justice* to the colonies themselves. The influence already exerted by these settlements upon American commerce has never been duly estimated. They have been the very foundation of a great part of the trade now carried on between this country and West Africa. If we look back to the interval of time between the cessation of the *carrying* trade of slaves, which was successfully and vigorously prosecuted by our northern merchantmen, and the establishment of the colony of Liberia, we find our commerce with the west coast of Africa dwindled to almost nothing. In fact the trade could hardly be said to have been resumed subsequent to the last war, until the founding of the Liberia colony. Until that period the coast of Guinea was unknown to American merchants, except as a slave mart.

The colony has been instrumental in forming and increasing our African commerce in various ways. First by publications made by the Colonization Society, giving valuable information with regard to the climate, the seasons, the productions of the soil and the demand for articles of American produce and manufacture. Then by chartering vessels for the transportation of emigrants, thereby giving the masters of such vessels, and through them the shipping merchants, an insight into the peculiarities of a trade with which they were before entirely unacquainted. It is a fact that more than two-thirds of the commerce between the United States and West Africa for the past twenty years arose from this one cause. Again, owing to the establishment of the colonies, the trade in their vicinity has been materially increased, produce has been concentrated in such a manner as to allow the merchant captain to transact his business in much less time and with comparatively less risk. The colony in fact places our African commerce on nearly the same footing as that of our northern with the southern states. It forms a port of entry for which our vessels clear, and where proper debenture certificates can be obtained for securing drawback. It furnishes a depot for any surplus cargo or such as may not find a ready market. In case of wreck or danger from the seas, or stress of weather, it either furnishes the means of repair and refitting, or an asylum for mariners until they can be returned to their homes. But more than all, it affords a place of refuge and recovery in the too frequent cases of disease which affect whole crews of vessels imprudently trading in the pestilential rivers of the coast. We have again and again seen vessels in the harbor of Monrovia brought down from the malarious rivers of the windward coast with not one of their original crews on board able to perform duty. In many instances we have seen them restored to comparative health and enabled to complete their voyage; in others new crews have been shipped from the colonists to navigate the vessel to the United States. In either case the vessel and cargo were saved entirely by the existence of the colony of Liberia. The fact is well known to all acquainted with the West Coast of Africa, that the lives of many American mariners and thousands of dollars worth of American merchandize have been saved through the instrumentality of these colonies; that through them and them *only*, has American commerce been fostered and protected on the coast. We say therefore, that it is not only a matter of interest and policy, but of *duty*—of *justice*, that the American government should through the agency of her squadron and otherwise, afford them all constitutional aid and support.

But can it be believed that with a knowledge of all these facts, (for they have been before the public for the past ten years) with a knowledge that these same colonies have been planted on the very ground of the old slave barricoons, and that these same American colonists have actually destroyed by force of arms several large slave factories and liberated some hundreds of slaves, abolished the very existence of slavery within their territory; yea, done more to suppress the slave-trade than any one Christian civilized power save England—we say, can it be believed, that where so much has been done through the individual philanthropy of American citizens—the American government should to this late period fail to take any cognizance of these colonies whatever? Yea, what is worse, that when she is forced by circumstances to maintain a squadron on that very coast for the suppression of the slave-trade, that a foreign port far remote from the scenes of the traffic should be selected as a rendezvous for her squadron and a depot for their provisions? Hitherto the colonists have but considered themselves neglected—they have felt that causes have existed which at least could be alleged with plausibility, for the utter neglect with which they have been treated, and under all circumstances tending to alienate their affections from America and the American people, still they have honorably maintained a kind of allegiance to our government and the kindest feelings for the land of their birth. But it cannot be hoped that with the policy at present pursued by our government with regard to them, this state of things can long continue. If they are to be set at naught and considered of no account in matters wherein they have already effected so much—if they are to be considered as unfit for a rendezvous for an American squadron, or even as a depot for marine stores—if their parent government refuses to them the incidental aid and advantage arising from such an arrangement, then we predict that ere long they will prefer to seek a paternity equally advantageous and honorable to themselves, and one too which will be most readily granted.

But independent of any claims of the colonies upon the protection and patronage of our government, we are unable to conceive the policy or expediency of establishing the rendezvous of our squadron at the Cape de Verds, or of cruising among the Canaries and Maderia, if the object of the African squadron is either the suppression of the slave trade or the protection and advancement of American commerce on the coast of Africa. Granting the letter of the treaty is to be fulfilled in good faith, and that the squadron of eighty guns is to assist to its utmost in the suppression of the slave trade, then certainly the first object would be to select a place of rendezvous as near as possible to the scene of action, and which should at the same time possess the requisite qualities of healthiness of location, good anchorage ground and facility for procuring good water and fresh provisions. As St. Jago was selected in preference to the American colonies, it must be supposed to possess one or more of these qualities, in a greater degree than either Monrovia or Cape Palmas. But the case is far otherwise. In the dry season we grant, the Cape de Verds are considered to be more salubrious than the colonies, but in the rainy season, we believe that it is conceded that they are all equally unhealthy with any part of the coast. With regard to harbour or anchorage ground the preference must be given to any open roadstead on the coast to Port au Praya. In the rainy season the whole region of the Cape de Verds is noted for

squalls and foul weather, and the swell rolling into the harbour of Port au Praya from the south is so tremendous, that no vessel can at times ride with safety. On the other hand, well-manned and well-rigged vessels can, at all times and seasons, lay at anchor at any distance from the shore on the African coast in from six to twenty fathoms water, and generally in muddy bottom, without the least risk of parting their cables. As to facilities for procuring fresh provisions and vegetables, the barren Cape de Verdes, affording only a browsing for goats, and whose inhabitants are supplied with nearly all their breadstuff from foreign vessels, probably next to the coast of Zahara afford the least of any port in the world. While the American colonies, particularly that of Cape Palmas, would well supply those articles so important for the preservation of the health of the crews of cruisers on a long voyage. Here are to be found goats, sheep, bullocks and fowls in abundance, also, the fruits and vegetables peculiar to tropical climates, as rice, bananas, plantains, sweet potatoes and the like in any desirable quantities. Independently, therefore, of all claims of the colonies to such incidental advantages as might arise from making them the rendezvous for our squadron, we conceive the interests of the government, the welfare of the squadron, and the very success of the enterprise imperatively require it. The immediate vicinity of the colonies is the very ground on which the squadron is required to act. At twelve hours sail from Liberia bay is the greatest slave mart on the windward coast, whence it is computed that from five to ten thousand slaves are shipped annually; and the nearer to such points the rendezvous is established and the depot fixed, the more advantageously will the objects of the squadron be accomplished.

There never was a more suicidal measure than this apparently intentional neglect of the Africo-American colonies by our government. What could not have been done by the government itself, namely, the purchase of territory and the planting of foreign colonies to advance our commercial interests, has been projected and accomplished by individual philanthropy. What could not have been effected by white citizens of the United States has been executed by her freed colored population, pilgrims of the nineteenth century, seeking that liberty in their ancestral land which was denied them in the new world. Here our government finds ready at hand the very establishment which a sagacious statesman would have desired, a key of that vast continent to unlock and open its treasures to our commerce, a foothold from which, with the least possible protection, we could not be dislodged. We have thus far realized all the advantages of colonial possessions without the expense of founding or supporting them. We have the material for extending and perpetuating colonies on the coast of Africa not possessed by any other nation in the world; and why should all these advantages be sacrificed? Why should we not, at least, seek to retain what we already possess, when it can so easily be done? Above all, let it not be said that we refuse the incidental aid which *our* squadron would necessarily afford by making these colonies the centre of its operations.

RECEIPTS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,
FROM 1st JANUARY, TO 24th JANUARY, 1844.

MASSACHUSETTS.

<i>Andover</i> , Ladies' Colonization Society, per Rev. B. B. Edwards,	-	17 00	
<i>South Danvers</i> , Miss Julia Putnam,	-	1 00	18 00

CONNECTICUT.

<i>New London</i> , Jona. Coit, 9th annual subscription,	-	100 00	
By Rev. C. J. Tenney, Agent:			
<i>Norwich</i> , Erastus Coit, Esq., subscription from 1842 to 1844, \$30,	-		
Joseph Reynolds, subscription, \$20,	-	50 00	150 00

NEW YORK.

<i>State Colonization Society</i> ,	-	400 00	400 00
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VIRGINIA.

<i>Tye River Mills</i> , Thomas Masse, subscription,	-	20 00	
By F. Knight, Esq., Agent:			
<i>Kanawha C. H.</i> , Bradford Noyes, Esq., balance of subscription of \$50, to aid in purchasing territory,	-	40 00	60 00

GEORGIA.

<i>Athens</i> , C. F. McCoy, annual subscription, '43 and '44, \$10. Rev. S. G. Hillyier, annual subscription, \$5 for '43, per Hon. J. R. Ingersoll,	-	15 00	
<i>Augusta</i> , Robert Campbell, Esq., subscription,	-	18 00	33 00

KENTUCKY.

<i>Danville</i> , Dr. William Craig, \$20, D. A. Russell, \$20, Capt. J. Smith, \$10, J. A. Jacobs, \$20, per J. A. Jacobs,	-	70 00	70 00
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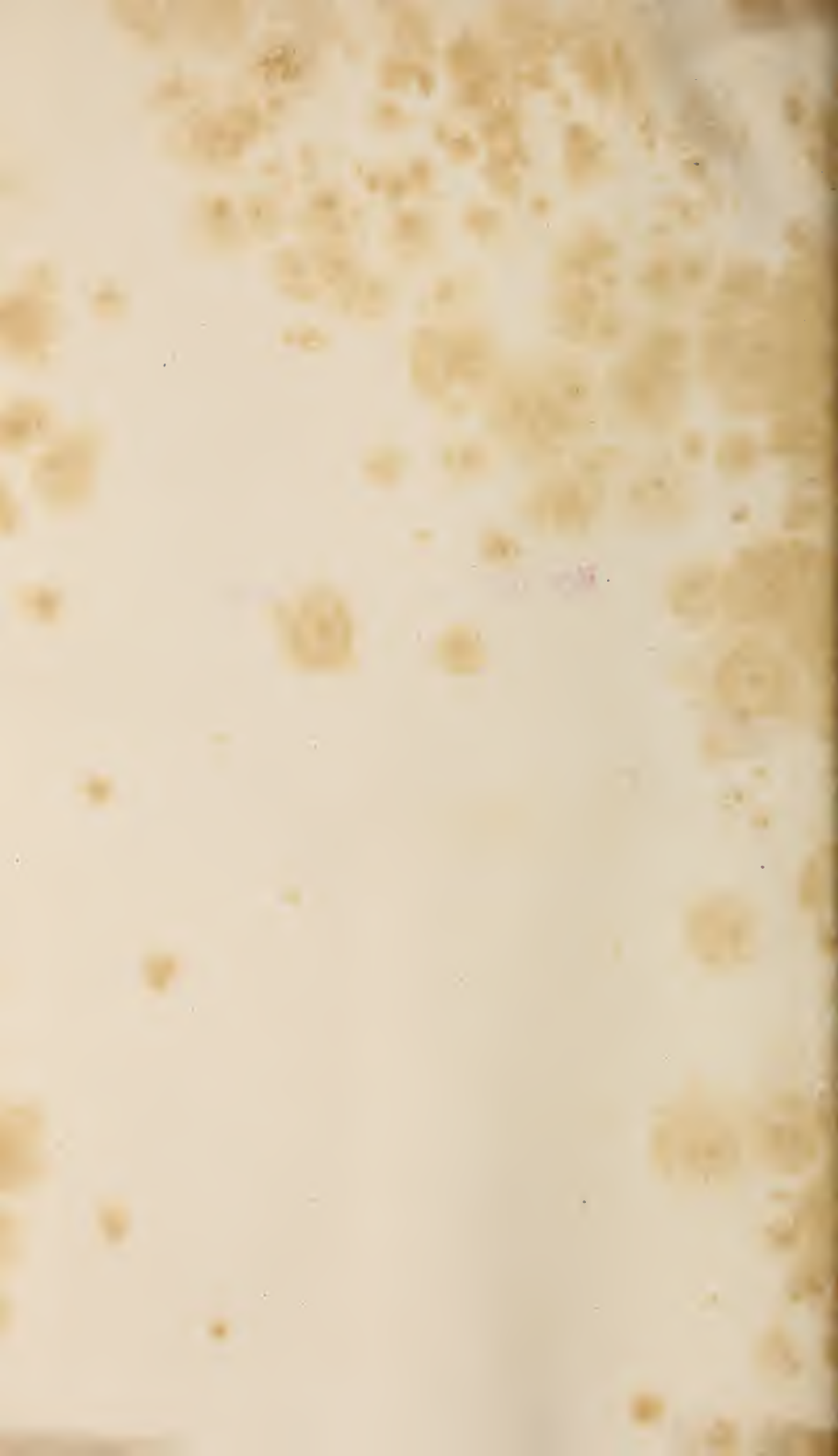
<i>Dayton</i> , Hon. R. C. Schenck, annual subscription, '43,	-	10 00	
<i>Euclid</i> , Mrs. Sarah Shaw, subscription, per H. Foote,	-	10 00	
<i>Newark</i> , Collection in Presb. Church, per Rev. William Willie,	-	12 00	
<i>Congress Township</i> , Collection in the Rev. Thomas Bier's Congregation, per L. Cox, Esq.,	-	3 50	35 50

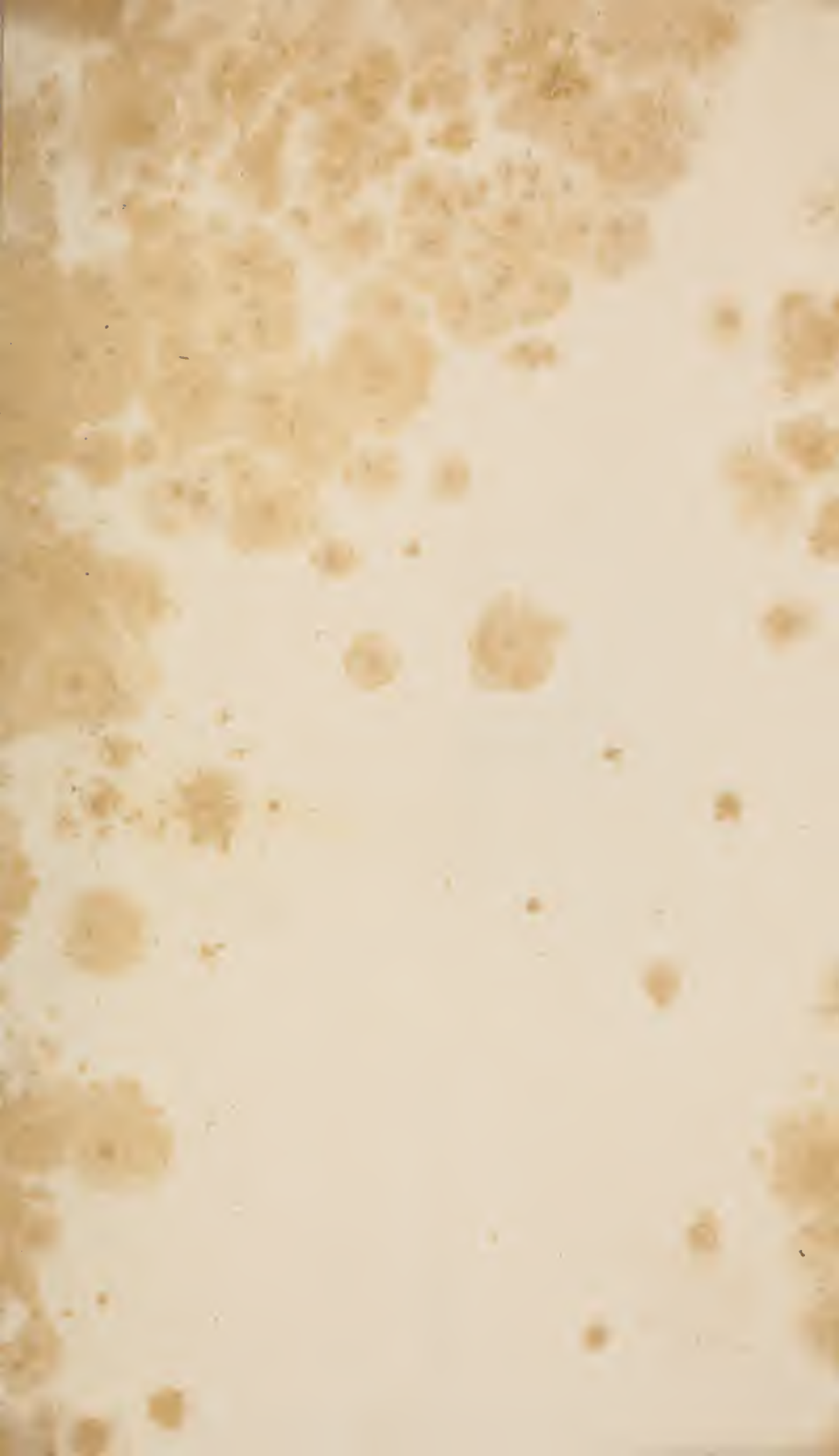
INDIANA.

<i>Crawfordsville</i> , Moody Park, Esq., subscription, \$2, Collection in the Presb. Church, \$2 25, per Hon. Albert S. White,	-	4 25	4 25
Total Contributions,	-		\$770 75

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NEW YORK.— <i>Hartwick</i> , Mr. E. Eldred, to '44, \$2 50. <i>Dundee</i> , Rev. H. Hickock, to '45, \$1,	-	3 50	
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GEORGIA.— <i>Augusta</i> , Robert Campbell, from '40 to '45,	-	7 00	
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